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perienced. He told me of the effect of the tropical dawn on tropical forest peoples. Traveling in the dark, he noted, Indian canoemen tend to break the monotony by singing and talking, but just before the sun appears, they suddenly fall silent, as if in expectation of a sacred moment. Again and again, in camps and while traveling with Brazilian Indians, I was reminded of Quain's perception.

Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realise that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[9]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

[9] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

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123 means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[3]

114 Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[4] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[5] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality. [291] Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *uluri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[6] Max Schmidt in 1901,[7] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[8] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

197 Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brazil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

[3] Quain letter, July 23, 1938.
[4] Von den Steinen 1897.
[5] Von den Steinen 1894.
[6] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Petrullo 1932.

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Introduction

Many people do not read the prefaces to monographs. This one must 114
be read in order to understand what follows.

The writer never met his co-author, Buell Quain, for Quain died sixteen years ago. Some six months before his death he had terminated a period of four months field research among the Trumaí Indians of the Xingú River in northern Matto Grosso, Brazil. Among his effects were his field notes, which represented the results of one of the most difficult investigations ever undertaken by an ethnologist.

In 1949, shortly after I commenced my graduate studies in anthropology, Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University asked me to edit the Trumaí notes. After further consideration of the material, Professor Wagley and I concluded that the notes had been ordered as far as was possible by Quain's mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain, and that they could best be presented in the form of a monograph, which I was to write.

First, let me describe Buell Quain's Trumaí notes. In essence they 126
consist of a remarkably detailed field diary in which Quain had recorded the daily activities and events of the Trumaí village. If a woman walked from one house to another bearing food, it was duly stated. The play of the children, the facial expressions apparent during ceremonies, the slightest nuances of interpersonal behavior were all put into the notebook. Present also are charts showing the daily economic activities of every villager and a report, in all its minutiae, of what occurred in a household of an afternoon. Quain also set down in his daily log many comments made to him by his Trumaí informants and scraps of conversation which he overheard.

The notes are a triumph of participant observation. Quain understood 123
very little Trumaí, although his diary shows that he was learning it [122]
rapidly by the time of his departure. He evidently maintained some communication with certain bilingual Trumaí by using Tupí, of which he appears to have had a fragmentary knowledge. Lacking the means to do detailed informant work, Quain leaned heavily on his observations of the behavior and activity of all the Trumaí, and he also learned much from his own personal interaction with them. He was deeply sensitive to the mutual relationships between himself and the subjects of his study, as he was completely alone in his sojourn; he did not even have a Brazilian backwoodsman for help and companionship. He entrusted

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123 himself to the hospitality of the Indians and in return received their confidence.

A feeling of aloneness permeates the Quain notes. He was in the midst of people with whom he had limited communication, due not only to the obstacle of language, but to the cultural gulf separating him from them. The threat of enemy attack was at that time constant in the upper Xingú area; life was precarious and civilization far off. Perhaps this existence sharpened his observations and increased the depth of his insights, for these are fine notes. Buell Quain's Trumaí
114 field trip is part of a tradition of ethnographic field research of which the anthropological profession may well be proud. His story, told more fully by Dr. Charles Wagley in the Foreword, adds one more legend to the saga of primitivist studies.

114 My own role in the writing of this monograph was to assemble and order the facts collected by Quain and to evaluate the data in terms of
128 which behavior and attitudes are normative within Trumaí culture, which lie within the range of permissible variation, and how such traits are merged in the whole. Facts do not speak for themselves. The concept of culture implies an interrelatedness of the components, which, in turn, calls for interpretation on the part of the ethnologist. It might be said that the information is Quain's product; its ordering into a coherent description of Trumaí culture mine. It is impossible, however, to so neatly separate the Murphy from the Quain in this monograph, for Quain's interests and ideas have influenced my interpretation of the data. Conversely, the facts have no doubt been affected by the interpretation. For this reason, I have included as many illustrations and examples from the notes as was possible. I have also avoided generalizing statements in the actual description of Trumaí culture, and overall interpretations have been reserved for the conclusion. The final chapter, then, is my own view of the dynamics involved in the breakdown of Trumaí culture and society. The reader will by that time be in essential command of the data upon which the generalizations are based and free to make up his own mind.

128 Quain's most adequate information is on the closely interrelated subjects of personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal behavior and attitudes. Material culture, technology, and religion are less thoroughly documented. Thus, the orientation of the monograph is the result of Quain's own interests. I have also visualized my task to be a description of the Trumaí Indians in 1938, and reference has been made to other sources only to place them in the context of history and the cultural landscape of the upper Xingú River region.

114 Quain's field work was never completed and the reader will find large gaps in this monograph. Undoubtedly, there are errors and much that is in disagreement with other data and other field workers. It is

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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karaíba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there.

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society.

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions.

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food.

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified.

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Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. *Isinke* was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapití speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *kuxáibe* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [347] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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The situation[1] was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322–23.

[1] [i.e. building Quain's house -- Analyst]

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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piqui* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[8]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[8] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *valty* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid.

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision.

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved.

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *tawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve.

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [123] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 754 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

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Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the *le*, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matsiripi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made [186] frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain [123] had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

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526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[4] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 649 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval 171 of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[4] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 80) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4;5 (1938) 1955
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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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aries, they are unrestrained in physical contact and in the expression of their momentary sentiments. In many instances their motives are kind and helpful. But their complete lack of shyness makes their sometimes bungling efforts troublesome.

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They were more reserved among themselves. Body contact and caresses were absent, as such demonstrations of friendship were unnecessary. The Trumaí were different people when outsiders were in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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"Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

"Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[289] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/192 cont./

123 609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken [262] good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan, [302] and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to [302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and [152] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm; thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text continues on p. 176]

1: Steinen--75 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
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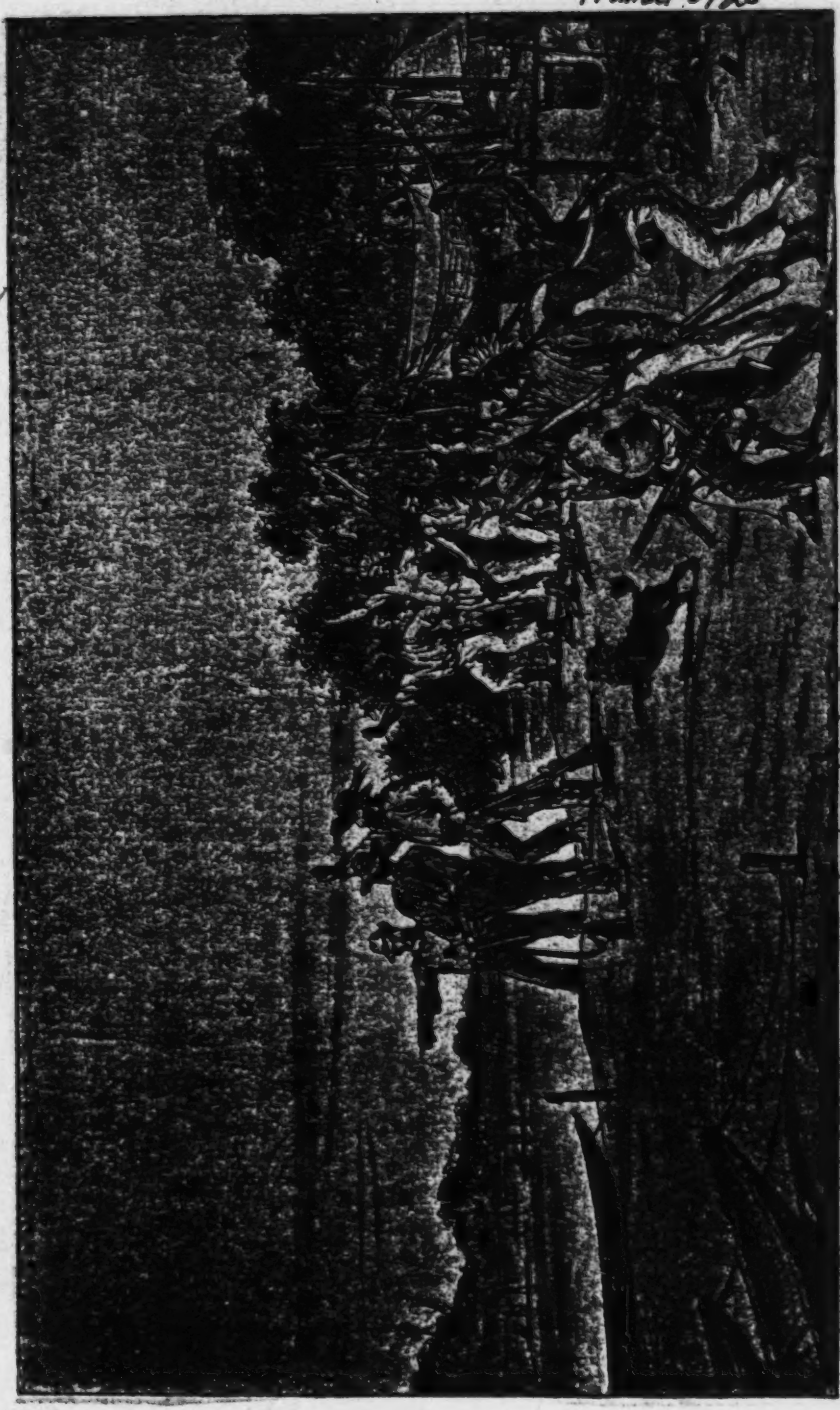

Meeting with the Trumai.

/193 cont./

123 576 609 Most of them proffered a piece of beijú as a present and at the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 152 123 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 123 /194/ A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all; it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 921 123 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kulisëu. Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest; like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.

/194 cont./

609 123 437 262 It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijûs, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong; one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 237 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
292 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- <u>präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt</u> /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

● 123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

/196 cont./

114 The incident, which basically has put me in a bad humor, is all the more unpleasant since the soldiers are very delighted about it; they regard it as a sort of easy victory about which they would like to boast. Many also do not consider the "bravo," the savage, worth better treatment, and those who are full-blooded Indians themselves judge most severely. Antonio is still very dissatisfied, although the feather ornament that he procured for himself in place of the unfortunate hat looks much better on him.

● [123] We need not doubt but that none of the Trumaí was hit by a bullet; all the men agree about this. They are very good-hearted by nature; they pulled out of the water one boy who, they say, could not swim.

609 721 Now and then the view is expressed that the Trumaí had a secret disarmament plan. To be sure, the Bakaïrí had warned us in this respect; they described in detail how the Trumaí would receive strangers in a friendly manner, wheedle their weapons from them, and then attack the unsuspecting ones; they would wrench their arms out of their shoulder joints -- "pok, pok, pok," the narrators graphically described it -- tie their hands together, and toss the thus mutilated bodies into the river.

000 Thanks be to the gods if we have escaped such a fate. For the time being, however, I shall deeply regret this day. In popular Brazilian belief, August is an unlucky month. Well, at least we are already at the thirty-first.

And the poor Trumaí are worse off than we are. When they arrive home in their miserable array, deprived of all their weapons and yet none wounded, what will their beloved wives say? Has anything like that ever happened on the Schingú? It will be difficult for the heroes to report their deeds in such a way that praise and honor will be due them; the two trophies so bravely salvaged will play an important role. If not two heads, at least they are bringing home two hats. One of them plaited out of straw, can be understood, explained, but the other, a gray felt -- where are there forest animals whose skin bears hair not only on the outside, but also on the inside? Oh, riddle of life!

/122 cont./

All

123 doubts vanished at the end of the trail. Two women there were 192 crossing the path, let out a dreadful scream, and disappeared with lightning speed into the bushes. A chorus of confused, shrill cries and suddenly between the trees figures running excitedly hither and thither everywhere. We were in the midst of the Trumaí!

An unpleasant situation. To go back was, of course, impossible. Therefore, straight ahead. I have never heard more insane noise. In the background women and children dashed [411] away with ear-splitting howls; the men gathered up their weapons here and there and, swinging bows, arrows, darts, they drew together into a screaming, dancing, raging knot, toward which we resolutely strode, one behind the other. I fixed my eye on a short gentleman who seemed to be the chief, stepped straight up to him, placed my hand on his shoulder, and did what is always best on such occasions, I laughed. Nor did I omit a forcefully expressed "katú katú karáiba, kúra kúra karáiba." In fact, I addressed several short sentences to him in a language which he had most probably never heard, but the sounds of which readily spring to my lips at critical moments and then always help to triumph over the gravity of the situation; it is my beloved Düsseldorf dialect, reinforced with a few carnivalistic catchwords that are appropriate for any situation. They had their effect on the Trumaí as well; the little old chief was, to be sure, too horrified to be able to laugh with me, but he nevertheless greeted me as graciously as he could.

[352] Two stools were hastily dragged up and the straw in which [532] they were packed was torn off; they were bird-shaped, and one, which represented a vulture, was distinguished by two necks and heads, like a double eagle. We sat down in the forest camp, and the company, looking quite wild in their terror, surged and pressed all around us among the trees. When I declared with jovial mien that I wanted to sleep among them, twenty hands moved at once clearing away the brush and making room -- more attentive service could not be imagined. After

/122 cont./

123 152 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The 291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over 194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of [162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all; [352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The [501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the
126 things that were most important for us. There were feather
437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as
[439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles.
411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A
[115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf.
123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/
[601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

T /124 cont./
T 123 pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T 126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T 122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp T [136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T 361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five T houses with buildings under construction among them. The 727 Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever T was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of re- 241 markably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the T villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the 764 circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/ B not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio 186 had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.